

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ANKARA 09473 311102Z

20

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 SAM-01 OMB-01 /076 W
----- 071900

R 310903Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1844

INFO AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

USMISSION USNATO

USNMR SHAPE

CINEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 9473

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, UR

SUBJECT: RESULTS OF KOSYGIN VISIT

REF: ANKARA 9433

SUMMARY: THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE KOSYGIN VISIT CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW. ONE POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT PASSAGE IS THE COMMITMENT TO SIGN A POLITICAL DOCUMENT ON FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION. MUCH OF THE REST OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE (ON MBRF, MIDDLE EAST, DISARMAMENT) IS A NEAR REPEAT OF THE TURKISH-BULGARIAN COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 3. THE KOSYGIN VISIT AT THIS TIME WAS A SOVIET INITIATIVE. TURKS ARE CONVINCED SOVIETS HOPE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF RIFT IN US-TURKISH RELATIONS, BUT THEY ARE NOT SURE EXACTLY WHAT SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ANKARA 09473 311102Z

1. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT CONCLUSION OF KOSYGIN VISIT DOES NOT OFFER MANY CLUES AS TO SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF HIS MISSION TO TURKEY. THE PRESS SUGGESTS THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT PASSAGE IS THE AGREEMENT THAT A "POLITICAL DOCUMENT" ON FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION WILL BE SIGNED AT A HIGH LEVEL MEETING IN THE NEAR FUTURE. CUMHURIYET DECEMBER 30 QUOTES "OBSERVERS" TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DOCUMENT WILL BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE NON-AGGRESSION PACT THE SOVIET UNION HAD WANTED TO SIGN. ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT, THE GOT WAS UNWILLING TO SIGN DOCUMENT ON THIS SUBJECT WHICH MIGHT REQUIRE PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL; THUS THE DOCUMENT TO BE SIGNED WILL BE SIMPLY A RESTATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC MATTERS, PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF BORDER QUESTIONS, AND MUTUAL RESPECT FO SOVEREIGNTY. AYRINTILI HABER, IN CONTRAST, REPORTS THAT OFFICIAL SOURCES BELIEVE THE DOCUMENT IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AND THAT IT "TAKES THE PLACE OF A NON-AGRESSION PACT WHICH IS VIEWED AS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT TO SIGN". AN MFA OFFICER WHO WAS MEMBER OF THE TURKISH DELEGATION TOLD EMBOFF DECEMBER 30 THAT THE DOCUMENT RESULTS FROM A SUGGESTION BY SOVIETS PRIOR TO THE VISIT THAT SOME SUCH DOCUMENT BE NEGOTIATED. GOT AGREED TO AN UPDATING OF THE 1972 DECLARATION OF GOOD NEIGHBOR PRINCIPLES (SIGNED DURING PODGORNYS VISIT) IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FINAL ACT OF CSCE. MFA OFFICER DOES NOT EXPECT THE DOCUMENT TO BE OF ANY GREAT IMPORTANCE, BUT SIMPLY TO SERVE AS A VEHICLE TO HIGHLIGHT A VISIT OF PRIMIN DEMIREL OR PRESIDENT KORUTURK TO THE USSR--OR POSSIBLY SOVIET FONMIN GROMYKO TO TURKEY--DURING 1976. (THE SAME OFFICER SAID SOVIETS PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF REGULAR EXCHANGE OF VISITS BUT GOT REFUSED.) IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS AND COOPERATION SIGNED WITH BULGARIA ON DECEMBER 4 AFTER PRIMIN DEMIREL'S VISIT IS A DOCUMENT OF NO REPEAT NO GREAT SUBSTANCE OR CONSEQUENCE.

2. OTHER SPECIFIC SECTIONS OF POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANCE INCLUDE:

A. REAFFIRMATION OF THE 1972 DECLARATION OF GOOD NEIGHBOR PRINCIPLES, THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF WHICH "ARE IN COMPLETE HARMONY WITH THE FINAL ACT OF CSCE". THE DECLARATION IS ALSO CONSIDERED TO HAVE ACQUIRED "NEW AND MORE EXTENSIVE MEANING IN THE LIGHT OF THIS DOCUMENT" (THE FINAL ACT). THE 1972 DECLARATION COMMITS BOTH NATIONS TO REFRAIN FROM ACTS OF AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ANKARA 09473 311102Z

AGAINST OTHER STATES. IT WAS REPORTEDLY ON THE BASIS OF THIS AGREE-
MENT THAT SOVIET DIPLOMATS "UNOFFICIALLY" SUGGESTED TO TURKISH
OFFICIALS EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT US INTELLIGENCE INSTALLATIONS IN
TURKEY NOT BE REACTIVATED (ANKARA 7825).

B. ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND TRADE -ALTHOUGH COMMITTING
THE TWO GOVERNMENTS TO FURTHER EXPANSION IN THESE FIELDS, THE
COMMUNIQUE PROVIDES FOR NO SPECIFIC NEW DEVELOPMENTS. NEVERTHE-
LESS THE MFA OFFICIAL MENTIONED IN PARA 1 SAID THE DELEGATIONS

SPENT MOST OF THEIR TIME WORKING ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN MOSCOW IN JULY 1975.

C. SIGNING OF A NEW CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE PROGRAM

-THIS IS THE ONLY SPECIFIC AGREEMENT TO BE COMPLETED AND SIGNED DURING THE VISIT.

D. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT THE TALKS ON "REDUCTION OF ARMS AND ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE" ARE IMPORTANT FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY. THIS LANGUAGE IS SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE TURKISH-BULGARIAN COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 3.

E. REAFFIRMATION THAT "A GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING NUCLEAR ARMS, UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL, WILL CONSTITUTE A SOUND GUARANTEE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE ENTIRE WORLD". THE TURKS ACCEPTED A SIMILAR PHRASE IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH BULGARIA AFTER INSISTING ON THE INSERTION OF "UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL" WHICH THEY CONSIDER TO BE SUFFICIENTLY QUALIFYING.

F. AGREEMENT THAT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAN BE ESTABLISHED ONLY WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAEL FROM LANDS OCCUPIED IN 1967 AND "WITH THE RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB PEOPLE, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN STATE". THIS LANGUAGE WAS ALSO CONTAINED IN THE TURKISH-BULGARIAN COMMUNIQUE.

G. THE JOINT BELIEF THAT "THE CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL METHODS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WHICH RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NEUTRALITY OF CYPRUS, AND IN A MANNER WHICH WILL BE COMPATIBLE WITH THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF BOTH THE TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS AND WILL ENABLE THEM TO LIVE IN PEACE AND COMPLETE SECURITY". THE SOVIETS SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN A LITTLE ON THE FORMULATION OF THIS SECTION,

ALTHOUGH THEY SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED SPECIFIC MENTION OF THE "TWO COMMUNITIES". THIS WAS CONFIRMED THE EVENING OF DECEMBER 29 WHEN MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS TEZEL TOLD DCM
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ANKARA 09473 311102Z

TURKS WERE PLEASED WITH THIS LANGUAGE AND IT HAD TAKEN HOURS OF HARD BARGAINING TO OBTAIN IT.

H. AGREEMENT ON IMPORTANCE OF LAW OF THE SEA-MFA
OFFICIAL TOLD EMBOFF SUBJECT WAS NOT DISCUSSED DURING VISIT.

3. NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT COMPLETED ON CONSULAR AND CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENTS. MFA DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SOYLEMEZ INDICATED THAT STICKING POINT IN CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS

WAS SECTION ON HIJACKING. THE TURKS REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE SOVIET VIEW THAT ALL HIJACKERS MUST BE SUBJECT TO AUTOMATIC EXTRADITION. MFA OFFICIAL MENTIONED IN PARA 1 SAID AN AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED BY TECHNICAL EXPERTS AND THAT A POLITICAL DECISION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL WOULD BE NECESSARY TO OVERCOME THE PRESENT IMPASSE. WITH RESPECT TO THE CONSULAR CONVENTION, HE SAID

THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO POSITIONS WAS SUBSTANTIAL AND HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THE SOVIETS DID NOT WANT AN AGREEMENT SINCE IT WOULD INEVITABLY RESTRICT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN ISTANBUL.

4. COMMENT: THE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW OR DIFFERENT. THE AGREEMENT TO SIGN IN THE NEAR FUTURE A POLITICAL DOCUMENT ON FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION MAY POSSIBLY BE SIGNIFICANT, BUT THAT WILL BECOME CLEAR ONLY AFTER IT IS NEGOTIATED. THUS THE MOST IMMEDIATELY SIGNIFICANT ASPECT OF KOSYGIN'S VISIT IS THAT IT TOOK PLACE

AT THIS TIME WHEN TURKEY IS ENGAGED IN A REASSESSMENT OF ITS TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THE WEST. CURIOUSLY, THE TURKS SEEM TO BE AS UNCERTAIN OF THE MEANING OF THE VISIT AS ANYONE ELSE. THE MFA OFFICIAL MENTIONED IN PARA 1 SAID KOSYGIN'S VISIT CAME AS A SURPRISE. RUMORS OF A HIGH LEVEL VISIT HAD BEEN CURRENT FOR SOME TIME, BUT NOTHING WAS FIRM. WHEN DEMIREL SUDDENLY MOVED UP THE INAUGURATION OF THE ISKENDERUN STEEL MILL BY SEVERAL MONTHS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS, THE GOT HOPED AND EXPECTED THE INAUGURATION WOULD OCCASION A VISIT FROM THE SOVIET DIRECTOR OF PLANNING OR SOME SUCH OFFICIAL. TEN DAYS PRIOR TO THE VISIT THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN ANKARA PROPOSED THE VISIT OF KOSYGIN. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISIT WERE THUS HURRIED ON BOTH SIDES. TURKS INVOLVED IN THE VISIT CLEARLY BELIEVE SOVIETS ARE ATTEMPTING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE RIFT IN US-TURKISH RELATIONS, BUT THEY ARE NOT CERTAIN EXACTLY WHAT SOVIETS HAVE IN MIND. THEIR BEHAVIOR DURING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 ANKARA 09473 311102Z

THE VISIT WAS VERY CIRCUSPECT. FOR EXAMPLE, DURING THE TWO MAJOR NEGOTIATING SESSIONS NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE MUCH RUMORED NON-AGRESSION PACT. (DEMIREL AND KOSYGIN MET PRIVATELY ONLY ONCE--SHORTLY AFTER KOSYGIN'S ARRIVAL--WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THE SUBJECT WAS BROACHED AT THAT MEETING MFA OFFICIALS ARE SKEPTICAL.)

5. THE CONFIDENT ASSESSMENTS OF THE PRESS TO THE CONTRARY, THE KOSYGIN VISIT DID NOT SIGNAL ANY PRECIPITOUS SHIFT IN TURKISH POLITICAL ORIENTATION. BUT SOME SEEDS WERE SOWN WITH THAT INTENTION, AND THE COURSE OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS WILL CERTAINLY HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE GROWTH OF THOSE SEEDS.

MACOMBER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AMITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS, COMMUNIQUE, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ANKARA09473
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750451-0262
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975122/aaaaabrg.tel
Line Count: 214
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 ANKARA 9433
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 MAY 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <30 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RESULTS OF KOSYGIN VISIT
TAGS: PFOR, TU, UR, (KOSYGIN, ALEKSEY NIKOLAYEVICH)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006